

**THE PERCEPTION OF JORDANIAN POLITICAL
PARTIES TOWARD IRAQI REFUGEES AND
POLITICAL STABILITY IN JORDAN**

by

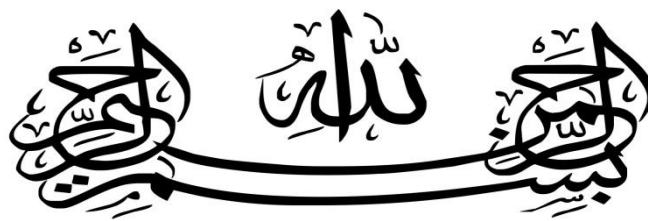
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**Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my late beloved father Saleem Eid AL-Brizat, who passed away on the glorious day of 27th Ramadan 1425 / 2004. Also to my late beloved sister Alia who passed away on the glorious day of 25th Ramadan 1424/ 2003. May God almighty have mercy on their souls.



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LIST OF ABBRIVIATIONS

U.S	United States
UN	United Nations
OAU-AU	Organization of Africa Unity- Africa Union
UNHCR	United Nations’ High Commissioner for Refugees’
UNRWA	United Nation Relief and Works Agency
MEI	Middle East Institutes
T.O	Terrorism Organizations
E.U	European Union
IMISCOE	International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in European
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
UK	United Kingdom
SPSS	Statistics for Social Science Program
IAFP	Islamic Action Front Party
JPDP	Jordanian People’s Democratic Party(HASHED)
JCP	Jordanian Communist party
JDPUP	Jordanian Democratic Popular Unity Party
JBASP	Jordanian Ba’ath Arab Socialist Party
NMDDP	National Movement Direct Democracy Party
IMP	Islamic Modest Party
NCP	National Constitutional Party
JUFP	Jordanian Union Front Party
RP	Al-Rsala Party
LP	Life Party (AL-Hia)
NJP	National Jordanian Party
WLP	Welfare Party (AL-Rafah)

PFE	Party of Freedom and Equality
JNAP	Jordanian National Action Party
NSP	National Stream Party (ALAhad)
APS3	Attitudes of Political Stability
KPS33	Knowledge of Political Stability
EXP3	Experience of Political Stability
L1	Economic Level
L2	Political Security Level
L3	Political Stability Level
PR	Price
UN	Unemployment
AE1	Attitude of Economic
AST2	Attitude of Political Security
APS3	Attitude of Political Stability
K31	Knowledge of Economic
K32	Knowledge of Political Security
K33	Knowledge of Political Stability
EXP1	Experience of Economic
EXP2	Experience of Political Security
EXP3	Experience of Political Stability

PERSEPSI PARTI-PARTI POLITIK JORDAN TERHADAP PELARIAN IRAQ DAN KESTABILAN POLITIK DI JORDAN

ABSTRAK

Sejumlah besar pelarian Iraq melarikan diri ke Jordan pasca tahun 2003 selepas pendudukan Amerika kerana terdesak untuk meneruskan kehidupan mereka. Jumlah pelarian yang besar berbanding dengan penduduk Jordan sendiri ini secara negatifnya memberikan kesan terhadap keadaan ekonomi dan politik di Jordan. Maklumat menunjukkan bahawa kemasukan pelarian secara beramai-ramai ini telah menyumbang kepada kenaikan harga barangan, pengangguran dan kebimbangan politik akibat keganasan. Kajian ini meneliti persepsi parti-parti politik Jordan terhadap pelarian Iraq dan impak pelarian Iraq ini terhadap kestabilan politik berdasarkan faktor-faktor keselamatan ekonomi dan politik. Teori persepsi diguna pakai untuk mengukur persepsi anggota parti berasaskan sikap, pengetahuan dan pengalaman mereka tentang kestabilan politik akibat pelarian Iraq ini. Persepsi ini diteliti menerusi kombinasi kaedah kualitatif dan kuantitatif, yakni soal selidik, wawancara dan data sekunder dalam dokumen yang berkaitan. Sampel kajian ialah 410 orang anggota parti daripada 16 parti politik dan cawangan tempatan masing-masing di lima buah daerah bergabenor di Jordan. Lapan orang ketua parti politik diwawancara secara bersemuka untuk mendapatkan pandangan mereka mengenai situasi pelarian ini. Hasil utama kajian ini telah menjawab persoalan-persoalan kajian dan menunjukkan bahawa: (1) terdapat perbezaan kecil antara persepsi parti-parti politik terhadap pelarian Iraq yang menetap di Jordan berdasarkan variabel-variabel berkaitan demografi; (2) terdapat hubungan yang signifikan antara pelarian Iraq dengan kestabilan politik di Jordan sebagaimana yang dirasakan oleh responden berkaitan dengan beberapa aspek, seperti harga, pengangguran dan keganasan; (3)

terdapat hubungan yang signifikan antara pelarian Iraq dengan peningkatan kos sara hidup di Jordan; (4) terdapat hubungan yang signifikan antara pelarian Iraq dengan peningkatan kadar pengangguran di Jordan; dan (5) responden percaya bahawa beberapa serangan ganas yang berlaku di Jordan berkait dengan pelarian Iraq. Hasil survei dan wawancara menegaskan bahawa pelarian Iraq membawa kesan negatif terhadap kestabilan politik Jordan dan sehubungan dengan itu beberapa cadangan dikemukakan untuk menyelesaikan masalah dari segi ekonomi, keselamatan dan kestabilan politik.

THE PERCEPTION OF JORDANIAN POLITICAL PARTIES TOWARD IRAQI REFUGEES AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN JORDAN

ABSTRACT

A massive number of Iraqi refugees fled to Jordan post the 2003 American invasion in a desperate attempt to preserve their lives. The relatively enormous number of refugees in comparison to Jordan's population negatively influenced the economic and political conditions in Jordan. Literature indicated that the influx of Iraqi refugees have contributed to increase in prices, unemployment and political insecurity through acts of terrorism. This study investigates the perception of Jordanian political parties toward Iraqi refugees and their impact on political stability through economic and political security factors. The perception theory is implemented to measure the parties' members perception based on their attitudes, knowledge and experience of the political stability impacted by Iraqi refugees. The perception has been investigated through combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, namely questionnaires, interviews and secondary data from related documents. The study sample consisted of 410 members of 16 political parties and their local branches in 5 governorates in Jordan. Eight parties' leaders were interviewed in person to assess their views about the refugees' situation. The major findings of this study have addressed the research questions posed and indicated that: (1) there are few differences among the political parties perception toward Iraqi refugees residing in Jordan based on demographically related variables; (2) there is a significant relationship between Iraqi refugees and political stability in the Jordan as perceived by the respondents related to several aspects such as prices, unemployment, and terrorism; (3) there is a significant relation between Iraqi refugees and the rise in cost of living in Jordan; (4) there is a significant

relation between Iraqi refugees and the increased unemployment rates in Jordan and (5) the respondents believed that some terroristic attacks that took place in Jordan, were connected to Iraqi refugees. Both survey and interview results asserted that Iraqi refugees have had a negative effect on Jordan's political stability and therefore several recommendations were suggested to provide solutions aimed at addressing problems in the areas of economy, political security and stability.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Refugees and the Role of International Organizations

Refugee influx is what constitutes the diaspora of more than ten million refugees worldwide; they usually are escapees from war, violence, persecution, and seeking to be in greener, more peaceful, less hassling pastures, and normally they find these peace and solace in foreign lands (Kagan, 2002). The Convention related to the status of refugees was organized by the United Nation Congress on 28th of July in 1951 which Act later, came into force on 22nd of April 1954. It was first confined to the measure of safeguarding the European refugees post- World War II (Phillips, 2011).

The Convention is described today as what has been left of the Cold War which is insignificant to new refugees who seek to get away from sectarianism violence, terrorism or other forms of crime (Vedsted-Hansen, 2011). The 1969 Organization of Africa Unity- Africa Union (OAU-AU) Convention and refugee problems in Africa and Cartagena Declaration, had confirmed its interest in protecting refugees, by subjecting them to be persecuted under the international human rights law (Martin, 2010).

Millions of people were alienated from their homelands after the 2nd World War (Jervis, 2005). The international community had had to suffer from various problems during the time, when millions had been made homeless and abandoned to starve (Dokhanchi, 1996). Sympathetic nations had extended humanitarian aid in the form of sending volunteers to address refugee problems (Trauer and Krause, 2011).

The 1951 Convention helped millions of Iraqis to rebuild their lives that had been lost (Edition et al., 2010). The United Nations also did their best at the international arena to lighten the burden and alleviate refugees' suffering (Kritzman-Amir, 2009). In the same vein, the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) is assigned to safeguard refugees and assist them with their problems and as a whole, seek resolutions (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2011).

The roles of the UNHCR and other International Organizations were also to offer refugees the protection that they need and deserve (Martin, 2010, Chomsky, 1991); the UNHCR assumed office in 1950, with a mission to protect them from persecution (Samanchina, 2004, Abdulati, 2007). The small office of the UNHCR, in time has turned to become a large organization which includes more than 4,000 members from 120 countries, with an annual budget of US\$ 1 billion seeking offer legal safeguard (McAdam, 2007, Richman, 1991). It assists refugees in diverse activities, including setting up refugees' camps and helping them cross borders, also improving and providing information on displacements that are sketchy (Martin, 2010, Hana, 2007).

Another role of the UNHCR and other International Organizations are to find the most practical resolutions to the plight of refugees by helping them return to their homelands (Gammeltoft-Hansen, 2011). Moreover, the United Nations has helped more than 3 Million Palestinian refugees who were homeless when the state of Israel was found, under the Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) established in 1948 (Jastram, et al., 2001). In fact, there are many international decrees like International Refugees Law, International Human Rights Law, and International Humanitarian Law, all over the World that seeks to protect people who are persecuted (UNHCR, 2006, Rashdan and Albursan, 2006).

As an example, Eritrea is the smallest country in Africa with a population not more than 4 million people (Record, 2003). In 2001, Eritrea was becoming susceptible to a political crisis between the new president and the old government (Hirt, 2010). The crisis resulted in refugees fleeing from their own country, bringing with them little property, and the disintegration of families (Essed, et al., 2004). Moreover, during the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, more than 700,000 people had been forced to reside along the border for quite a while; some even lost their lives (Alssardiyah, 2011).

As another example, thousands of Somalis had crossed the borders to other nations (Daniel and Wiharta, 2008). International Organizations have then, played a significant role to the vital and legitimate part of the refugees' protection system in its performance, as well as in meeting and maintaining the safeguarding standards (Lester, 2005, Wehrey, 2010, Ulrichsen, 2009).

Table 1.1 explains that for year 2003, there had been a noticeable orientation and displacement of people (International and Internal displacements), amounting to 15 million worldwide, with marked territories showing the global proportion of international refugees and nationally displaced people settling in various countries (Souaidia, 2006). The figure further demonstrates the number of refugees' regimes worldwide, mushrooming under the UNHCR umbrella, as % of resident population in varying destinations.

Table 1.1

International refugees and their displacement worldwide

Rank	Territory	Value	Rank	Territory	Value
1	Bosnia Herzegovina	8.2	11	Guinea	2.2
2	Armenia	7.6	12	Burundi	2.1
3	Azerbaijan	6.9	13	Zambia	2.1
4	Georgia	5.1	14	Sri Lanka	2.0
5	Colombia	4.1	15	Tanzania	1.8
6	Djibouti	3.9	16	Chad	1.8
7	Serbia & Montenegro	2.6	17	Sweden	1.6
8	Congo	2.5	18	Puerto Rico	1.5
9	Iraq	2.4	19	Iran	1.4
10	Afghanistan	2.4	20	Denmark	1.4

Source: Souaidia (2006)

1.2 Palestinian Refugees in Middle East

Refugees in the Middle East had succumbed to mass violation in human rights during the last century and the beginning of this century (Abdulati, 2007, Amin, 2004). Between 1948-1967, there was a displacement of Palestinian refugees, whereby many of them had lost their homes and made their way to neighboring countries such as Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and the European countries (Riccardo, et al., 2011 and Sabel, 2010).

The highest number of Palestinian refugees reportedly resided in Jordan and has since granted full citizenships (Sabatinelli, et al., 2009, Chatelard, 2010). The Jordanians are the closest neighbor of the Palestinians, and they are also inherently of the same race and ethnicity, resulting in the former having to welcome a large number of Palestinians into the country (Hana, 2007). The number of Palestinian refugees in Jordan has easily risen to more than 1.5 million, with about 300,000 living in camps (Simadi and Nahar, 2009).

The majority of Palestinians left their homeland after the state of Israel was formed in Middle East. There were around 1.5 million Palestinian

refugees in Jordan who did not give up, wishing to return to their homeland (Podeh, 2010). However, in 1947, under the United Nations Committee on settlement 181 an approval was granted to divide Palestine among the Jews and Arabs (Farsakh, 2011). In 1967, within 6 days of the war, Israeli soldiers had forced most Palestinians to leave their new found homeland in West Bank and Gaza Strip (Farsakh, 2011 and Etheredge, 2011).

1.3 Iraqi Refugees in Middle East

The Middle East Institutes (MEI) had stood behind refugee rights, where its host program in Iraq attempted to cater for 5,000 Palestinians and Iranian refugees failing to return to their homeland (Wilkes, 2010). MEI gives shelter to everyone from different places under its umbrella to protect them from persecution (Chamberlin, 2007). During the first Gulf war, there were many Iraqi refugees who left for Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and other nations to defend themselves from the Saddam Hussein's regime, trying to find jobs in those countries. The Jordanian immigration foundation has provided the number of Iraqis going into Jordan since 1991 until 2007, which was 750,000 refugees (around 250,000 Iraqi refugees during the reign of the former regime and the second part which is after the war in 2003, they have been 500,000 Iraqi refugees in Jordan) (UNHCR, 2008).

Iraqi refugees had had to run away, to protect themselves as the US attacked Iraq. Table 1.2 illustrates the number of Iraqi refugees worldwide and the displaced Iraqis in various regions, who fled from the war due to violence between sectarians in Iraq. Around 4 million people left their homeland to be in pursuit of protection, while 2 million people were displaced in the Middle East countries while others

became refugees. The Iraqis became homeless and had dispersed worldwide after the U.S.A entered Iraq.

Table 1.2:

Iraqis refugees in the region and elsewhere in the World

Country	Refugee	Country	Refugee	Country	Refugee	Country	Refugee
Syria	1.2 mil.	Germany	36,200	U.S	19,800	Bulgaria	1,200
Jordan	750,000	UK	22,000	Switzerland	5,000	Austria	1,200
Egypt	70,000	Netherlands	21,000	Canada	4,000	Greece	820
Iran	57,000	Sweden	23,000	Finland	1,600	Armenia	450
Lebanon	40,000	Australia	11,100	Italy	1,300	Ireland	340
Turkey	10,000	Denmark	9,900	France	1,300		
Gulf states	200,000	Norway	8,700	Hungary	1,200		

Source: Wells et al. (2008).

1.4 Iraqi Occupation

As ruled out by the American Foreign Policy, U.S. paid its attention on a group led by Saddam Hussein by contributing ideas and advice on national issues towards realizing their quest against the Islamic Republic of Iran during the 1980s (Brands, 2011). As 1990 approached, and following the war with Iran, the U.S. had planned a regime change in Iraq instead via the ousting of Saddam as he was set to embark on his agenda invading Kuwait (Sovacool and Halfan, 2007). The U.S., along with many other countries had attacked Iraq and ousted them from the Kuwaiti land; leading the Iraqis to suffer from pain and damage while taking refuge outside their country. Resulting from this, several thousands were murdered in 1991 (Peace-action, 2006).

However, when the first Gulf War came to its end, Saddam's soldiers attacked Shi'a's (a Muslim sect) in the Al-Basra province and the Kurds in Kurdistan with an attempt to regain the power that had been robbed off from them (Brands,

2011). Occupation is one of the worst problems confronted by the Iraqis. In 2002, in the reign of Bush, the American army was prepared to be transported to Iraq in order to occupy and come face-to-face with the threatened (Davies, 2010).

Accordingly, Bush wanted to materialize his intention of granting the freedom to Iraq. America had acted on both of these aspirations during the Iraqi occupation. It was at this point that, ethnic violence between Iraqi sectarians and terrorists resulted in the citizens' homelessness, (Burgess, 2004). Iraqi refugees undoubtedly needed protection and an impermanent residential status but there were still limitations that they had to endure. Jordan had scarce resources and obviously could not afford shelters for *all* Iraqi and Palestine refugees (Idrees, 2006).

Moreover, between the Desert Fox and the crisis of 2002, the United States of America along with some other countries had given the Iraqi government the leeway causing a ten-year international diplomacy to have formed (Graham-Brown et al., 2002 and Willard, 2010). However, this brought on the American assault on Iraq, propelling the Iraqi regime to be ready for their downfall. The American president had put the blame on the Iraqi government for its alleged connections with a variety of Terrorism Organizations (T.O.) including Al Qaeda, the group that has been reported to have attacked many places in the World (Baylis, 2007, Hinnebusch, 2007, Va'isse et al., 2010, Piper, 2004).

However, the war against Iraq had very much ruined practically every aspect; education, economy, health care, etc (AL-Azzwai, 2008). On the other hand, the situation in Iraq had been described as worsening after the occupation; the situation gave people an opportunity to view U.S. civil atrocities (Glantz, 2008). In 2003, the United States of America had visited Iraq in the pretense to release Iraqis

from the Dictator Saddam Hussein after a cease fire had taken place between the Iraqi Army and U.S Army (Corlett, 2007).

This was after seven years, whereby then American president George W. Bush had requested for the U.S Army to attack Iraq; a war that saw a lot of American lives lost and trillions of dollars that had crippled both American and Iraq's safety (Reisch and Kretzmann, 2008). During the American occupation of Iraq itself, many were killed due to the conflict between the U.S and the Iraqi mass. Some of them died out of the ruthless violence, whereas others travelled out as refugees to many neighboring countries (Burnham et al., 2006).

The United Nation (U.N) should have taken center stage in helping the Iraqi people and their governments with ways that are deemed right to end the war, as Iraqi refugees were looking forward to returning to their homeland (Lowenberg and Mathews, 2008). Moreover, the support from international societies and organizations was gradually waning; this and the condition of Iraqi refugees with homes are weighing on Jordanian institutions (Fagen, 2007).

In conclusion, this section highlights the American ploy of occupying Iraq and dominating Middle East countries in order to safeguard its interests in the Arab world while giving undivided protection to the Israeli state. The war against Iraq resulted in a bloody massacre, with large numbers departed from their country into others worldwide in their effort to protect themselves from violence between Iraqi sects on one hand and the Iraqi revolution against the U.S on the other alongside the fact that the war had destroyed everything in Iraq. However, the two figures, 1 & 2 illustrate how the Iraqi moves from Iraq and becomes spreading to other countries, including Jordan.

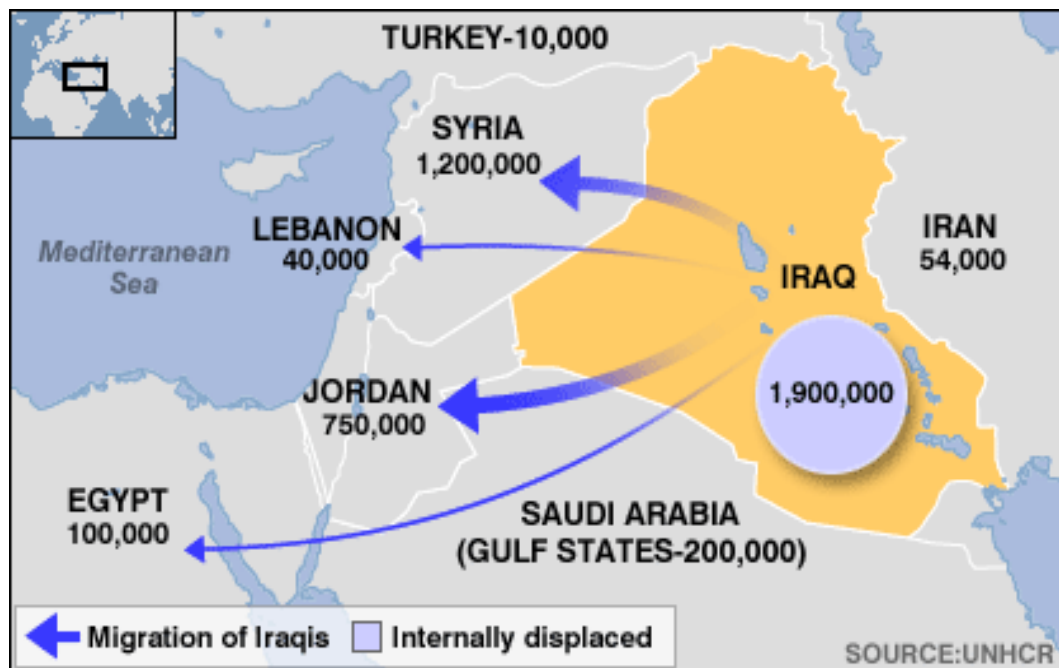


Figure 1.1: Iraqi refugees map

Source: BBC News (17 April 2007)



Figure 1.2: Jordanian map shows the location of Jordan

Source: Country Profile (2008)

1.5 Kingdom of Jordan and Iraq Relations

The relationships between Iraq and Jordan had carved history since 1921; Iraq and the Kingdom of Jordan were ruled by two sections of the same family from Alhijaz. During the Baathist seizure in Baghdad, Jordanian – Iraq relations had been on and off until 1968. But as of the consequence of the Arab – Israel war, the relations between the two countries had become rock solid (Baram, 1991).

In the political scenario, Jordan was braving certain problems not only within but also between the various political compositions. Jordan's relationship with Iraq had been more than stressful for more than four decades (Gibson, 2010). Jordan had supported Iraq during the war against Iran from 1980 – 1988; and with this event, the relations between Iraq and the Kingdom of Jordan seemed to have been revived (Takeyh, 2010). Most Arab countries had not been in favour of Iraq and were allies to the United States against Iraq in its quest in opposition to Kuwait in 1990; but the Kingdom of Jordan stayed clean from war and remained to be Iraq's closest friend. Jordan had gained a lot from its decision; the Iraqi government did provide Jordan with oil at historically low prices (Ryan, 2000).

After the Gulf war in the 1991, a big crisis ensued when many Iraqis had fled from Iraq into Jordan; or precisely, the main gateway to other countries for Iraqi people who wished to leave (Chatelard, 2002). The relations between two countries had stayed firm until King Hussein's regime came to its end in 1999. In regard of the United States that planned to attack Iraq in 2003; the war had disabled the trade relations between Iraq and Jordan, while oil supply to Jordan was no longer approved. Bilateral relations became quasi-off but in the detriment of the Iraqi

occupation, relations started to get better when Iraq supplied Jordan with oil while Jordan brought food and chemicals to Iraq (Saif and DeBartolo, 2007).

Geographically, Jordan is located in the center of the Middle East, as it is bordered by four countries, Palestine-Israel in the west, Saudi Arabia and the Red Sea at the southeast, Syria in the north and Iraq in the northeast (Mubaidin, 2010).

The “Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan”, is segregated into 12 provinces, with each province reigned by a governor (Albdullah, 2009). The total population of Jordan is roughly around 6.2 million. There are 10 Palestine Camps and two Iraqi camps, and its religious composition is dominated by the Sunni sect, while the language used is Arabic (Milton-Edwards and Hinchcliffe, 2009). Jordan is one of the neighboring countries of Iraq, a nation that has been adversely impacted by the Iraqi occupation (Saif and DeBartolo, 2007).

However, violence had become a great problem in Iraq, which had propelled its populace to leave their home land and to migrate to Jordan. The Kingdom had been affected, what with the Kingdom of Jordan having the issue of resource scarcity (Etheredge, 2011). The Jordanian people faced many challenges under rough conditions; the prices of goods escalated, contributing to the Kingdom’s worst inflation yet (Lasensky, 2006). Jordan in effect, had to depend on other countries’ aid, which came from the U.S, Arab Gulf and the E.U; Iraq then supplied Jordan with free oil during Saddam Hussein’s regime. After the new political group had succeeded to rule, the aid from Iraq had stopped altogether (Carroll, 2011).

The new political group had also stopped supplying free oil to Jordan. The relationship between the two countries had not been good either (Terrill, 2008). In the second Gulf war in 1991, many Jordanian workers returned to their homeland

which is various countries in the Middle East, especially from Gulf countries owing to the fact that they were expelled (Kober, 2011 and Kanaan and Massad, 2010). Nevertheless, Jordan's political instability has been reasoned to being an upshot to distrust with Iraq at the beginning of 2005 (Idrees, 2006).

Moreover, Iraq was in pursuit of the Zarqawi-style governance, which stems from Jordanian's government. In addition, it was far from legal to export Zarqawi radicalism to Iraq (lasensky, 2006). Price increases together with high unemployment had increased the poverty ratio to 16%, according to Jordan's formal institutions. Unemployment is a social agenda, which links itself to components like economic and political balances (Keynes, 2006). In short, the implications of Iraqi refugees on Jordan's domestic politics had marred their bilateral relationship and pushed the government to formulate a new Jordanian foreign policy on Iraq (Chatelard, 2002).

According to King Abdullah II, for safeguarding Jordan's political stability, three exclusive improvement programs had been reinforced, "Jordan first" in 2002, "The National Agenda" three years afterwards (2005), and "We Are All Jordan" in 2006 (Country profile, 2008). Therefore, International Organizations and other global communities had assisted the Jordanians with humanitarian aid for the refugees, especially in education. There are many juvenile girls and boys among Iraqi refugees who worked as laborers (AL-Qdah and Lacroix, 2010 and Women's Refugees Commission, 2009).

1.6 Jordanian Political Parties

1.6.1 Perceptions

Concerning the perception of Jordanian political parties on migrations of Iraqis to Jordan, some reports recommended an analytical approach to check on the status quo for refugee data in Jordan, where it will work on a system to adjust those data and link electronically to migration-related institutions and look at the laws and regulations dealing with the empowerment of national initiatives to link immigration with development (Petra News, 8/11/2012).

The study uncovers the reality of migration data in Jordan, to diagnose the reality of the phenomenon that has a direct correlation with multifarious political and economic issues, social and details of the citizens' daily activities, where people turn to the migration from one place to another within the borders of their state, or externally to another country for the betterment of life of themselves and their loved ones.

Furthermore, the perception and attitudes of Jordanian political parties towards Iraqis refugees had varied, from tolerance to hatred. That had caused the cultural and sectarian differences between Iraqis and Jordanians very hard to be unified (Nabil, 2005). Most Jordanians are Sunni Muslims, while a lot of the Iraqi immigrants are Shiite Arabs, who brought along their traditions and religious culture (Massalha, 1999).

However, Iraqis' presence is still seen as an issue, but the presence of UNHCR relief and foreign embassies had played a role in the first twelve years in this century (Alrai News, 24/9/2012). In any case, according to the perceptions of

political parties, the refugee crisis began when the Iraqi occupied the streets of Amman and other cities in Jordan or generally the Iraqi market, an area where the hawkers had in time, traded materials smuggled from Iraq, such as rice, dates, fruits and electronic materials, and due to this, Iraqi currency floated, and pushing the products to be imposed with the new market value; similar commercial activities also appeared in other Jordanian cities such as Irbid, Amman, Madaba, Zarqa and others. Relative to the unemployment rate in Jordan in the first of the decade of this century, which had gone up to 30 percent, the parties' limited perspective on Iraqis getting jobs in Jordan cannot be ignored.

The overall perceptions are divided into two categories- those from the upper class of the society, who escaped from the former regime era, where they accommodated prestigious areas in West Amman and other cities and it is this group who has played a role in improving the economic situation of Jordan and moved land and real estate markets (Aawsat News, 10/10/2010). On the other hand there is a category of low-income people, awaiting financial aid from abroad or from humanitarian organizations and this group of ordinary people reside in slums or in marginalized areas and are trying to blend into the Jordanian community's customs and traditions. Some of them work in construction or agriculture, and some sell products in the market or on the streets of Jordanian cities (Aawsat News, 10/10/2010).

Nevertheless, they have sought the political parties in Jordan to help the Iraqi refugees after the U.S. invaded Iraq with the intervention of some non-governmental organizations and civil society organizations, and when they escaped to the Jordan a large numbers of refugees already have the political parties' support and supplies like tents and food aid (Ahalna News, 16/1/2011).

However, the refugees had to be catered for- basic needs had to be provided daily, like food, as well as water for drinking and washing, and toilets that need twenty tanks of water every day, which can later on prove that these tasks are too difficult to accomplish due to the inadequate infrastructure in the region (Alsadi, 1993). The security services provided by the security agencies (Alrai News, 24/9/2012) also has been rough. Following the clarification of the respondents, there were some undeclared efforts by the agencies to ensure that the immigrant families are provided the security, as well as offer philanthropists who are always available inside the tents (Addustour News, 26/9/ 2012).

The role played by civil society organizations and political parties to help refugees coming to Jordan is a sign of a country's hospitality, especially seeing that Jordan financial and humanitarian help, to refugees in order to lighten their suffering. Residents of the refugee camps were well aware that there are related aids flowing from Islamic charities and Islamic parties in Jordan (Alrai News, 24/9/2012). The economic despair had led people in the refugee camps to take all said that they could (Shihan News, 26/9/2012).

As the Muslim Brotherhood obtained some funds in the first place from anonymous *Zakat* "a charity for the poor and the duty of every Muslim is required", it is rare that there is a relationship between donor and the recipient. However, this is the attitude of the political parties towards refugees especially the Islamists, nationalists and some leftist parties. Therefore, by advantage of geography, Jordan was still a haven for these disadvantaged immigrants, sampling another two events where the immigrants were from Iraq and Syria.

Today there were about 90 thousand Syrians in Jordan, and Jordan believes that it is part of their duty to provide all the help, although everyone knows the financial burden, the lack of natural resources and water infrastructure on the state and the people (AL-Hbashna, 2005).

The researcher in this study indicates that, Jordan is the first country that brought into practice the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which gave the right for every person to enjoy the freedom of opinion and expression, and it is also one of the first signatories to the International Covenant on economic, social and cultural rights, which provided for male and female equality entitlement to economic, social and cultural rights. As Jordan signed the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which provides for the equality of men and women in this regard, most can be inferred to the empowerment of women.

1.6.2 Profiling Political Parties

Jordan had been engaged in the partisan action earlier, since the Emirate of Trans Jordan. In April 1921, and then afterwards, the political work of a partisan is seen to have been parallel with the existing activities in the country to build and work on various issues in the state due to the fact that regional and political conditions had not been easy at the time (Nabil, 2005). The political parties founded in 1950 were divided into three branches; “Islamist, Leftist, and Nationalist” which, in some occasions had formed coalitions against the government to achieve their goals (Clark, 2010).

Political parties were canceled in 1957; in 1989 was re-formation of political parties in Jordan again according to the new law of the Ministry of the Interior. European Forum (2013) political party existence has established meanwhile the new

political party law of 1992. A prohibition exists the Communists and the Islamists out of politics were lifted in 1991. Together parties have been powerfully characterized in the political issues since then. In 1992, political parties were again acceptable and 22 were authorized to take part in elections. The major opposition group has been the Islamic Action Front (IAF).

According to Sansour (24/2/2011) the attitudes of Jordanian political parties toward the government especially of opposition parties, even though these remarkably speedy actions, however, opposition parties stay displeased. The IAF, for example, has rejected so far to connection the new government and strategies to remain to establish protests calling for reform around the country.

Jordanian political parties had played a key role in its political stability and had been unhesitant in reacting to any crisis taking place in the region (Schwedler and Fayyaz, 2010). For example, they had led several protests and demonstrations demanding the price reduction and the resolution of social problems such as poverty and unemployment (Massalha, 1999) and carried out their activities and demonstrated their presence in public life, despite the opposition of the martial law.

Hence, we can say that in 1989 there had been a major shift in the history of modern Jordan, and it represented a significant breakthrough in the political life of Jordan, seen in it pursuing a state policy of openness toward the opposition forces, and the freedom to create parties, and to devote to political and party pluralism (Department of Press and Publications, 2012). Thus this stage has seen a significant event, which was the adoption of the National Charter (Alquds Alarbi News, 2006).

There was also the moment when the parties were distinguished between ideological and programmatic parties (Massalha, 1999). As mentioned above the

study tried to divide Jordanian parties' existing groups as consistently as possible – what these parties are trying to do is that they had expressed their respective policies, and subtract them with the conviction that they can succeed in the center of mass, which employs the approach of accounting for the interests of the people, the problems that happen, the problems of various social groups, the interests of the country and these intentions will win them the seats in the political landscape.

The political party which plays the utmost role in the legislature is the Islamic Action Front (IAF). To note, it could be argued that the political parties are segregated in four sections: Islamists, represented by the Islamic Action Front, and added to this trend other Islamic forces, such as the movement of Islamic prayer and others. (Department of Press and Publications, 2012). However, the country is not that much impacted by these various parties, due to their lack of strategies and propaganda, and the clear, irreconcilable differences among the parties (Aqadis Arabi News, 2006).

The phase experienced by the country in the transition of the National Democratic Party and Democratic Popular Unity Jordanian party recognized that the democratic transformation is a complete historical phase, as it confirms that this phase of the substance include multiple, important tasks related to the sovereignty and independence of the country, to defend and protect the security and integrity of its independence and ensure the development of the economic, social, political and cultural aspects (Jordanian Democratic Popular Unity Party, 2012).

The Jordanian political discourse then stuck to the rights of refugees and considered it a red line that cannot be crossed; they are at peace with Majesty King Abdullah II and remained a cornerstone of the internal Jordanian politics, Arab and

foreign world (Ajloun News, 28/6/2011). He pointed out the effects of asylum and forced migrations on Jordan, also the effects of demographic, economic and social and political factors that had exponentially grown in certain phenomena such as poverty, unemployment and dependency burdens (Alshami, 2012).

The conclusion of this section is that the Jordanian political parties have had their own perceptions, attitude and even knowledge about the refugees who make their way into the country. Since the establishment of the Kingdom of Jordan the parties had tried its best to be a great host country for refugees, and they have been joined the public and political spheres, and played an important role to develop the country at the same time handling the refugees that had come to Jordan. They assisted in many ways such as donating food, tents, water for drinking and others. Notably, the political parties in Jordan are divided into sixteenth, parties and all these parties have the same behavior toward refugees in Jordan and other growing issues in Arab countries.

1.7 Problem Statement of the Study

In tandem with the United Nations definition, refugees are defined as a group of people who had found themselves terrified of being oppressed due to religion, nationality, political viewpoints and war, or a person who looks after himself and protect himself. Iraqi refugees started to leave Iraq since 1991 during the former government regime (Chatelard, 2010). There were thousands of Iraqis who left their homeland and sought refuge in the neighboring countries, and most of the refugees entered Jordan in large numbers for protection and for temporary residence which in time had created difficulties for Jordan's political and economic thresholds (Idrees, 2006, Olwan et al., 2009).

Moreover, as they settled in the new country, they started to look for careers; most of them began to work as lecturers, doctors and engineers and others (Gellman, 1991). There was another influx of refugees from Iraq entering Jordan after 2003 (Wilkinson and Shandran, 2005) who were neither treated as guests nor displacements (Idrees, 2006).

These large numbers of Iraqi refugees in Jordan had had a bleak future (Kober, 2011) because Jordan was already burdened with large number of refugees and there were some growing issues like great cost that had to be borne beyond Jordan's economic stability, when hosting Iraqi refugees (Chatty, 2010). This situation had slowly eroded Jordan's economic and political status (Libal and Harding, 2009, Madanat et al, 2008, Mayen et al, 2005). The increased number of refugees, after 2003, also saw the increased demand for goods and services as well as for accommodation. The increased prices for accommodation were mainly attributed to the rich people who came from Iraq and who were able to rent many houses in Jordan (Albers and Peeters, 2011). The unemployment rate, within the Jordanian population, also escalated (Jordan Ministry of Labour, 2010, Alissa, 2009) because Iraqi refugees had not been as demanding as the locals, in terms of the pay. They also occupied services in Jordanian universities and other private and public sectors in numbers ranging to 10,000 persons.

The other devastating impact of refugees on Jordan was the increased events of terrorist attacks as reported in the hotels in Amman, the capital of Jordan, and other places within Jordan, resulting in innocent people killed (Neidhardt, 2011). According to King Abdullah II, in CNN interviews on November 12, 2005, cited by Prados (2006) had predicted that the criminals might have passed the border of Jordan from Iraq, which resulted in the explosion of three hotels in Amman (the

Radisson, Grand Hyatt, and Days Inn) and causing hundreds of people to have been killed and injured. However, in the same year they attacked an American ship in the Aqaba port and launched three rockets aiming at Israeli borders.

The problem of Iraqi refugees in Jordan is ongoing, with most of the refugees coming from the middle class that would be laborious for the Jordanian political figures to overcome (Chatelard, 2011). These challenging situations not only dent the economic structures but also the political stability of Jordan. The new situations forced some new policies to be made, with political interests reflecting on issues pertinent to refugees, terrorism, etc., and shed light on “countries economic and political stability priorities” (Ahmad and Alfaris, 2010).

Jordan has so far weathered the political storm that has overcome much of the Middle East since 2003. However, several emerging challenges have the potential to develop into serious threats to the stability of Jordan; the risk of domestic instability is greater since the Iraqi refugees’ influx to the Kingdom. Jordan has historically served as a provincial cross-road for refugees. This role can be imputed to the provincial political instability, which strengthens refugees influx into the country, as much as it was due to Jordan’s open-door policy to Arab refugees. In latest years, nevertheless, Jordan has increasingly reserved its open-door policy due to the enormous number of Iraqi refugees’ influx to Jordan, which amounts to 750,000. Moreover, Jordan's reputation as one of the region's safest country was dealt a blow in late 2005, when dozens of people were killed in suicide bomb attacks on hotels in the capital. Iraq-based Islamic militants claimed responsibility.

The King said Jordan had been targeted because of its location and its stance. Boukhars (2006) indicated that the 2005 Amman bombings proved one thing: threat

intelligence services with their enhanced security postures and improved operational efficiency have failed to identify, understand, and counter terrorism threats. Therefore, unknown Iraqi suicide bombers were dispatched to carry out the triple bomb attack in Amman because of their ability to move unnoticed inside the target country (Byman).

The various waves of refugees arriving in Jordan over time, have posed a number of threats to the state's stability. However, with every new wave of refugees there was an added pressure on the state's infrastructure. The most recent wave of Iraqi refugees in Jordan has impacted on its political stability. That refugees has exerted a continuous and growing pressure on this small country's resources. Then, wealthy Iraqis arrived and invested in the Jordanian economy, sending prices rising too high for many working class or lower class Jordanians. Seeley (2010) following the 2003 war and subsequent reconstruction, mentioned that the arrival of mostly poor Iraqis has compounded the problems, increasing demand and applying more pressure on the Jordanian economy. The authorities denied any acts of discrimination, claiming that it treated equally any illicit activity by Sunnis or Shiites from Irqa.

Keeping tabs of the political perceptions in this country, it is very important to understand how these policies are formulated and how important the political perceptions stand, to formulate such policies. Although, there are some past studies that make an effort in showcasing the political stability or at least the effect of refugees on Jordan but these studies' focal points only cover different aspects of the behavioral process, like the number of Iraqi refugees in the Kingdom of Jordan and its impact on Iraqi refugees themselves along with the traits of Iraqi refugees.

The current study considers the perception of political parties (based on their attitudes, experience and knowledge concerning the prices of goods, the advent of terrorism, and the worsening unemployment) toward Iraqi refugees regarding their impacts on Jordan's political stability, while examining the relationship between these refugees and the country's political stability.

1.8 Research Questions:

The current study tries to answer the following questions:

- Q1. Why are the perceptions of political parties and their attitudes, knowledge and experience, important towards Iraqi refugees regarding political stability in Jordan?
- Q2. How are the research variables i.e. the prices of goods, terrorism, unemployment, and their relationships perceived regarding Jordan's political stability?
- Q3. Why do the market prices vary, due to the influx of Iraqi refugees?
- Q4. How does the influx of Iraqi refugees contribute towards the unemployment in Jordan?
- Q5. How was the influx of Iraqi refugees responsible for terrorism in Jordan?

1.9 Research Objectives:

The broad objective of this study lies in the investigation of the perception of Jordanian political parties toward Iraqi refugees' impact on Jordan's political stability in terms of credibility factors that are associated with the refugees. Thus, the detailed objectives to this study are as follows:

1. To examine if there is a significant difference with respect to attitude, knowledge, and experiences of political parties perception regarding the Iraqi refugees on political stability.
2. To examine if there is a relationship between variables under the investigation, such as prices of goods, terrorism and unemployment regarding Jordan's political stability.
3. To examine and analyze the relationship between Iraqi refugees influx and the market price in Jordan through the perception of political parties.
4. To examine and analyze the relationship between Iraqi refugees influx and the unemployment in Jordan through the perception of political parties.
5. To examine and analyze the relationship between Iraqi refugee influx and terrorism on Jordan through the perception of political parties.

1.10 Research Hypothesis

1. There is a positive relationship among the perceptions of Jordanian political parties toward Iraqi refugees concerning political stability in Jordan.
2. There is a relationship between Iraqi refugees and Jordanian political stability through the perception of political parties.
3. There is a relationship between the Iraqi refugees and the rising prices of goods and services in Jordan through the perception of political parties.
4. There is a relationship between the Iraqi refugees and the ratio of unemployment in Jordan through the perception of political parties.